The Grammar of Japanese Mimetics

Perspectives from structure, acquisition, and translation

Edited by Noriko Iwasaki, Peter Sells, and Kimi Akita



The Grammar of Japanese Mimetics

Mimetic words, also known as 'sound-symbolic words', 'ideophones' or more popularly as 'onomatopoeia', constitute an important subset of the Japanese lexicon; we find them as well in the lexicons of other Asian languages and sub-Saharan African languages. Mimetics play a central role in Japanese grammar and feature in children's early utterances. However, this class of words is not considered as important in English and other European languages. This book aims to bridge the gap between the extensive research on Japanese mimetics and its availability to an international audience, and also to provide a better understanding of grammatical and structural aspects of sound-symbolic words from a Japanese perspective. Through the accounts of mimetics from the perspectives of morpho-syntax, semantics, language development and translation of mimetic words, linguists and students alike would find this book particularly valuable.

Noriko IWASAKI, Department of Linguistics, SOAS University of London, United Kingdom

Peter SELLS, Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York, United Kingdom

Kimi AKITA, Department of Japanese Language and Culture, Nagoya University, Japan

Routledge Studies in East Asian Linguistics

For a full list of titles in this series, please visit https://www.routledge.com/Routledge-Studies-in-East-Asian-Linguistics/book-series/RSEAL

1 The Grammar of Japanese Mimetics

Perspectives from structure, acquisition, and translation *Edited by Noriko Iwasaki, Peter Sells, and Kimi Akita*

The Grammar of Japanese Mimetics

Perspectives from structure, acquisition, and translation

Edited by Noriko Iwasaki, Peter Sells, and Kimi Akita



First published 2017 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge 711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 selection and editorial matter, Noriko Iwasaki, Peter Sells, and Kimi Akita; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of Noriko Iwasaki, Peter Sells, and Kimi Akita to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual s, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-18190-8 (hbk) ISBN: 978-1-315-64669-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

	List of figures List of tables Preface List of abbreviations List of contributors	vii viii ix x xii		
Int	Introduction			
Gr	RT I rammatical and semantic properties of metics in Japanese	5		
1	The significance of the grammatical study of Japanese mimetics PETER SELLS	7		
2	Grammatical and functional properties of mimetics in Japanese KIMI AKITA	20		
3	The position of <i>to/Ø</i> -marked mimetics in Japanese sentence structure KIYOKO TORATANI	35		
4	Swarm-type mimetic verbs in Japanese ANN WEHMEYER	73		
5	How flexible should the grammar of mimetics be? A view from Japanese poetry NATSUKO TSUJIMURA	103		

vi Contents

	RT II quisition of mimetics (as a first or second language)	129
6	Mimetics as Japanese Root Infinitive Analogues KEIKO MURASUGI	131
7	Grammar of Japanese mimetics used by English and Korean learners of L2 Japanese in KY Corpus interviews: Does L1-L2 similarity help? NORIKO IWASAKI	148
8	Acquisition of mimetics and the development of proficiency in L2 Japanese: A longitudinal case study of an L1 Dutch speaker's speech and gesture KEIKO YOSHIOKA	172
9	Use of mimetics in Motion event descriptions by English and Korean learners of L2 Japanese: Does language typology make a difference? NORIKO IWASAKI	193
	t III metics and translation	219
10	Translating into Japanese mimetics: Grammatical class-shifts and historical development MIKA KIZU AND NAOMI CROSS	221
	Index	238

Figures

3 .1	Mean distance by form	39
3.2	Token Frequency (%) by position	40
3.3	Constituent projection of the layered structure of the clause (LSC)	42
3.4	Classification of to/Ø-marked mimetics	43
3.5	LSC for a sentence with a mimetic as a nuclear modifier (adapted	
	from Toratani 2007: 333)	46
3.6	LSC for a sentence with a mimetic as a core modifier (adapted from	
	Toratani 2007: 334)	47
3.7	LSC for a sentence with a mimetic in LDP	48
3.8	LSC for a sentence with a mimetic in RDP	48
3.9	LSC for (14a), '(lit.) as for the meal, there was a lot of volume'	50
3.10	Two possibilities of LSC for (15b)	51
3.11	LSC for (22)	54
3.12	LSC for a sentence with a mimetic adjectival	55
4.1	The Locative construction (Rowlands 2002: 69)	76
4.2	The Locative construction with swarm (Rowlands 2002: 69)	76
4.3	Sanctioning of locatum-as-object variant of <i>spray</i> (Iwata 2008: 39)	95
4.4	Sanctioning of location-as-object variant of <i>spray</i> (Iwata 2008: 39)	96
4.5	Sanctioning of theme-as-subject variant of <i>uzyauzya-suru</i> 'swarm'	97
4.6	Sanctioning of location-as-subject variant of <i>uzyauzya-suru</i> 'swarm'	98
8.1	Gesture accompanying paaN	182
8.2	Gesture accompanying furifurifuri-site	183
8.3	Gesture accompanying tyotto	184
8.4	Gestures accompanying atama and uuu site	185

Tables

2.1	The proposed aspectual semantics of mimetic morpho-phonology	26
3.1	Type and token frequency of the data	38
3.2	Marking distribution	62
4.1	Realization of subject in alternating mimetic verbs	93
4.2	Mimetics in Noun-Modifying position (MIM sita Noun; MIM-Noun	
	Compound)	94
7.1	Assessment criteria: Global tasks and functions and context/content	156
7.2	Grammatical properties of mimetic words used by L2 learners	159
7.3	English speakers' L2 Japanese mimetics by OPI levels	160
7.4	Korean speakers' L2 Japanese mimetics by OPI levels	161
7.5	Mimetic-suru verbs and lexical semantics	162
7.6	English speakers who used more than three types of Japanese	
	mimetics	164
7.7	Korean speakers who used more than three types of Japanese	
	mimetics	164
8.1	The narratives in L1 and L2 in three stages	177
8.2	Type and token of verb and adverb used in the narrative	178
8.3	Mimetics produced in narratives	179
8.4	Number of iconic gestures and rate of gesture	181
9.1	Sub-events and the number of L1 Japanese speakers who used	
	mimetics	204
9.2	Mimetics used by L1 Japanese speakers and the number of users	205
9.3	Number of L2 Japanese speakers who used mimetics	206
9.4	L2 Japanese speakers' proficiency levels and the mimetics they used	207
0.1	Phrasal categories in the English ST	224
0.2	Phrasal categories in the Japanese TTs	225
0.3	Translation patterns in the Japanese TTs	225
0.4	Phrasal categories of mimetics in Japanese TTs	227
0.5	Phrasal categories in the English ST (counterparts to the mimetics	
	in Table 10.4)	228
0.6	Translation patterns in the Japanese TTs	228
0.7a	Shift patterns in Wakamatsu	230
0.7b	Shift patterns in Sakazaki	231

Preface

The initial idea of the book grew from a workshop titled "Grammar of Mimetics" organised by Noriko Iwasaki, Peter Sells and Mika Kizu, held at SOAS University of London on 10-11 May 2013. Three invited speakers (Keiko Murasugi, Kiyoko Toratani, and Natsuko Tsujimura) and 11 other speakers from 8 countries gave presentations on topics related to the grammar of mimetics. Subsequently, we made a call for contributions, leading to the current volume. The workshop and this subsequent publication was generously supported by the Great Britain Sasakawa Foundation (Grant 4248), the Daiwa Anglo-Japanese Foundation, and a Meiji Jingu Japanese Studies Research Grant. We gratefully acknowledge their support, as well as support from the SOAS Japan Research Centre.

Abbreviations

In the glossing of Japanese, we use the abbreviations below. Although we mostly use a standard method of glossing, there are some differences in the chapters, reflecting the different analyses adopted by the authors or the sources of the examples cited.

```
ACC = accusative
ADD = address form
ADV = adverbializer
caus = causative
COM = comitative
COMP = complementizer
COMPL = completive
COND = conditional
COP = copula
DAT = dative
DECL = declarative marker (i.e. Korean -ta)
EV = evidential
FIL = filler (e.g. ano, ma, etto)
GEN = genitive
GER = gerund(ive) (i.e. -te form)
HON = honorific (e.g. des-, mas-, o-)
IMP = imperative
INF = infinitive
INST = instrument
L = linker
Loc = locative
MIM = mimetic
NEG = negative
NOM = nominative
NMLZ = nominalizer
NPST = nonpast
P = particle
PASS = passive
PL = plural
```

POT = potential

PROG = progressive

PST = past

Q = question

QUOT = quotative

RES = resultative

SFP = sentence-final particle (e.g. *ne*, *yo*, *yone*)

stat = stative

TOP = topic

VOL = volitional

Contributors

- **Kimi AKITA**, Department of Japanese Language and Culture, Nagoya University, Japan
- Naomi CROSS, Faculty of Foreign languages, Himeji Dokkyo University, Japan
- **Noriko IWASAKI**, Department of Linguistics, SOAS University of London, United Kingdom
- **Mika KIZU**, Department of English Language and Literature, Notre Dame Seishin University, Japan
- **Keiko MURASUGI**, Department of British and American Studies, Nanzan University, Japan
- **Peter SELLS**, Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York, United Kingdom
- **Kiyoko TORATANI**, Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University, Canada
- Natsuko TSUJIMURA, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Indiana University, USA
- **Anne WEHMEYER**, Languages, Literatures, and Cultures, University of Florida, USA
- **Keiko YOSHIOKA**, Japan Studies, Leiden Institute for Area Studies, Leiden University, the Netherlands

Introduction

This book is concerned with grammatical properties of mimetic words in Japanese (known in Japanese as *giongo/giseigo/gitaigo*, or *onomatope*), a special class of words whose forms/sounds and meanings are related by iconicity (resemblance between form and meaning) or through sound symbolism.

Definition and terminology

Though the form-meaning relationship has traditionally been considered to be an arbitrary one, languages also have words whose forms have a stronger connection to their meanings. The most obvious are so-called onomatopoeic words that mimic or refer to the voices, animal cries, or sounds. Beyond such words that mimic sounds, there are words that contain sound symbolism, that is, properties of sound (phonemes, syllables, auditory features or tones) that can convey some meaning, often linked to auditory, visual, or tactile sensory imagery. These words as well as onomatopoeia are generally called sound-symbolic words. Though sound-symbolic words arguably constitute a part of the lexicon of any language, some languages have clearly distinguishable specific lexical categories of such words, and are variously called: mimetics, ideophones, or expressives. The preferred choice of terminology appears to depend on the languages of interest: 'ideophones' is originally used to refer to sound-symbolic words in African languages while 'mimetics' is preferred for reference to Japanese words. 'Ideophones' may be the most frequently used term, while here we use the term 'mimetics' as our main interest are the grammatical aspects of sound-symbolic words in Japanese.

Why focus on the grammar of mimetics?

Mimetics or their counterparts in other languages are perhaps not well represented in linguistic studies of English or most other European languages. In languages known to have such mimetic lexical inventories, most research so far has been on the sound symbolism and sound patterns of the words from phonological and semantic perspectives. Mimetic words arguably play a central role in Japanese grammar and feature in children's and caretakers' language, but linguistic studies have been centered primarily on sound/form-meaning relationships, phonology

and morphology. Hence, in this volume we present further analyses of structural aspects of mimetics from various linguistic areas (morphosyntax, semantics, language development, and translation) for better understanding of not only Japanese but of the general phenomenon of sound symbolism.

Overview of the volume

The book consists of three parts. Part 1 presents analyses of morphosyntax and the semantics of mimetics; in Part 2 are chapters examining acquisition of mimetics both in first language (L1) and second language (L2). Part 3 has a final chapter examining English to Japanese translation. The various areas that the chapters touch on indicate the potential for future fruitful study of mimetics.

Part 1 begins with Peter Sells' chapter introducing some basic motivations for the grammatical study of mimetics, looking at their functions and how we might reason to their categories. In Chapter 2, Kimi Akita presents an overview of previous findings on the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of mimetics from a crosslinguistic perspective. He outlines the prototype-categorial nature of mimetics, focusing on their grammatical constructions and aspectual semantics. This is followed by Chapter 3, in which Kiyoko Toratani offers a comprehensive account of the syntax of *to*- and Ø-marked adverbial mimetics within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. She argues that mimetics occupy more diverse syntactic positions than previously suggested. In Chapter 4, Ann Wehmeyer discusses the "swarm-type" mimetic verbs with regard to degree of occupancy or abundance (e.g. uzyauzya-suru 'swarm') as a previously unrecognized verb class. She shows that a version of Construction Grammar provides a straightforward account for the valence alternation these verbs exhibit.

Part 2 is devoted to studies that have bearing on the acquisition of mimetics. In Chapter 6, Keiko Murasugi examines Japanese-speaking children's use of mimetics, and argues that children use bare mimetics as Root Infinitive Analogues (RIA), a default verb form that young children are found to use across many languages. In addition, she argues for a Mimetic Creation Device, innately endowed, to generate the forms.

The other three chapters in Part 2 deal with L2 learners' acquisition or use of mimetics. In Chapter 7, Noriko Iwasaki uses the KY corpus (transcribed data of Oral Proficiency Interviews) and compares uses of mimetics by English-speaking and Korean-speaking learners of L2 Japanese, finding that Korean speakers who have similar lexical inventory in their L1 do not show advantage in terms of frequency or structural variation in their use of mimetics. In Chapter 8 Keiko Yoshioka presents a longitudinal study of the use of mimetics and gesture in a Dutch-speaking learner of Japanese. The Dutch speaker showed developmental features similar to L1 patterns found among Japanese-speaking children as well as development in two modalities, namely more frequent use of mimetics, accompanied by synchronized use of iconic gestures in the later stages. In Chapter 9, Noriko Iwasaki reports the role of L2 speakers' first language in the use of mimetics in Motion event descriptions. Korean-speakers' and English-speakers' use of

mimetics shows some similarity in the preferred use of highly iconic mimetics as verbs, as well as influence from their respective L1 typological patterns (Verbframed vs. Satellite-framed).

In Part 3, in the final chapter of this volume, Mika Kizu and Naomi Cross present their analysis of mimetics in the Japanese translation of the classical English novel, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, by two English-to-Japanese translators from different eras. They found frequent shifts in grammatical class from the source text to mimetics, with distinct distributions of mimetics in translations from different eras. They attribute these findings to differences in the availability of mimetics in different time periods, with regards to their acceptance in colloquial language, and also to constraints at different times on the faithfulness of translation.

Notation

Among the characteristic formal features of Japanese mimetics are syllable-final geminates (lengthening of voiceless obstruents such as [t], [k], [p], and [f]) as in pokit-to oreta and moraic nasals as in pokin-to oreta. Both Japanese phrases indicate that '(a hard, slender object) broke with a cracking noise' but the ending with the syllable-final obstruent conveys an additional meaning of vigor in the event of breaking, and the moraic nasal conveys lingering reverberation (Hamano 1998: 106). Both geminates and moraic nasals have related other meanings shared across a number or mimetics (e.g. geminate referring to totality/completeness, especially in word-medial positions). In order to consistently mark these characteristic features in the romanization of mimetics, we adopt Q for the geminate and N for the moraic nasal, following Hamano's (1998) conventions. Hence, the mimetics in the two examples are written as pokiQ and pokiN in the method we adopt in the volume. For romanization in the Japanese examples, we adopt the Kunrei method, which can systematically represent the phonemic and morphological properties, except for proper names and references where we adopt the Hepburn romanization, following the convention in Japanese linguistics.

Reference

Hamano, Shoko. 1998. *The sound-symbolic system of Japanese*. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers & CSLI Publications.



Part I

Grammatical and semantic properties of mimetics in Japanese



1 The significance of the grammatical study of Japanese mimetics

Peter Sells

1.1 Mimetics and their grammatical aspects

Mimetics are a highly salient feature of present-day Japanese, though they have been part of the language for at least 1,000 years (Frellesvig 2010: 316; Akita et al. 2014: 183). Akita (this volume) provides a succinct overview of Japanese mimetics within the universal category of the 'ideophone.' The impetus to study mimetics in the context of Japanese syntax and morphology is the focus of this chapter. We are interested in how mimetics function in the grammar; based on what we see of their distribution and use, what grammatical properties do they have? The intention is that a closer look at mimetics can offer insight into the internal categorization of Japanese and into the way that various grammatical elements function in the grammar.

In linguistic studies of Japanese mimetics, there are four different aspects which are addressed: the forms of mimetics, their functions, their syntactic categories, and their quite particular meanings (for an overview see Akita & Tsujimura 2015). There are many studies which focus on the first or the fourth of these, and I will not address them at all; with regard to the 'grammar' of mimetics, this chapter will focus on just their functions and categories. The theoretical steps which will take us from observing the functions of mimetics to deducing their categories are quite subtle, but, as I hope to show, mimetics provide a valuable perspective on how categories function in Japanese grammar.

1.1.1 Is there a category 'mimetic'?

It is not uncommon in Japanese grammars to find a separate section or chapter on mimetics, where they are identified as a 'category,' more along the lines of interjections, conjunctions, etc., rather than traditionally morpho-syntactically core categories such as Verb, Noun, Adjective, etc. Mimetics are clearly identifiable by their phonological shape, and by the kind of meaning they have. In this sense, there is a class of words in Japanese to which the label 'mimetic' applies. As such, though, this label may have no status in the formal grammar, in the sense that no grammatical rules or processes refer to it. For instance, in English, we have classes of words which are based on Latinate roots, or which are deverbal nouns, but there are no syntactic rules or processes which apply only to such words.

1.1.2 Should mimetics be assigned to categories?

The most forceful argument that mimetics should have categories such as V or N seems to be in Kageyama (2007), who proposes that it would be impossible to account for the distribution of the different types of mimetic if such category information were not available. In the context of Japanese, mimetics are typically assigned with respect to four categories: Adjective, Adverb, Noun, and Verb.

Kageyama (2007) considers in some detail different categories that mimetics may have, in terms of this four-way classification. In order for a mimetic word to function in the syntax, with the exception of some of the adverbial uses, it will typically combine with another supporting element drawn from the non-mimetic grammar of Japanese, such as the verb *suru* 'do,' or the copula in some form, or some other marker. We might expect the usual and general combinatory properties of these elements in the grammar of Japanese to be matched by mimetics.

(1) Verbal: used with a light verb such as *suru* 'do' in a non-copular predicate Adverbial: used within the clause to modify a verbal or adjectival predicate Nominal: used referentially, accompanied by a case-marker Adjectival: used with the copula in a stative predication

Suru is not the only light verb which creates the verbal use: others are iu 'say,' kuru 'come,' and naru 'become.'

1.2 Categories in Japanese

In Japanese, the relation is not transparent between morphological criteria for differentiating categories and syntactic rules or processes which refer to different categories. Kishimoto and Uehara (2015) provide an overview of approaches to categories in traditional and generative approaches to Japanese grammar. Tsujimura (2014: Ch. 4) provides a thorough overview of issues of analysis in Japanese morphology largely from a generative perspective.

1.2.1 Inflecting categories: Verb, adjective

At the morphological level, canonical verbs and adjectives are bound stems which require inflection, and through the form of those suffixal inflections (in (2)), the categories are easily distinguished.

(2) a. Verb

Non-Past: (r)u Past: ta

b. Adjective

Non-Past: i Past: katta

Verb (V) and Adjective (A) are the only categories in Japanese which inflect, taking different suffixes for tense, negation, mood, etc. In these inflected forms, both

verbs and adjectives can equally stand in main predicate position in a clause, and both can equally stand in prenominal position, as shown in (3):

(3) a. Hanako-ga mi-ta yama.

Hanako-NOM see-PST mountain

'the mountain that Hanako saw'
b. omo-i hako
heavy-NPST box

'heavy box'

While V and A have clearly separate morphological paradigms, there is some connection between the two categories. For instance, the negative of a verb is formed by suffixing (a)na to the verb root, and the resulting form then inflects as an Adjective – the inflections in (4) are those of the Adjective in (2) – yet negated verbs have the same syntactic distribution as non-negated verbs. In (4) the root mi 'see' is followed by the negative na, and then takes its tense inflection:

(4) Negated verb inflecting as an adjective:

mi-na-i 'does not see' *mi-na-katta* 'did not see'

Although there is a kind of crossover between V and A, and the distribution of inflected Verb forms and inflected Adjective forms is quite similar in Japanese, there is reason to keep the categories separate. Spencer (2008: 1008) shows that there are some specific syntactic contexts in Japanese which select for A but not V. Further, Kishimoto and Uehara (2015) show a different environment in which the distinct category of A is accessed in the syntax.

1.2.2 Non-inflecting categories: Noun, verbal noun, nominal adjective

Japanese has a category of Noun (N) which is as stable and reliably diagnosed as in any other language. Nouns do not inflect (e.g. there is no number or person inflection), and take case markers (e.g. Nominative, Accusative) which are invariant enclitics on NP, following the head noun.

In addition to the canonical categories of V, A, and N, Japanese has some intermediate or apparently mixed categories, namely Verbal Noun (VN) and Nominal Adjective (NA). Unlike the regular inflecting verbs and adjectives, VNs and NAs do not host their own predicate inflection and must appear with other grammatical elements to host tense and other inflectional categories. And, unlike regular nouns, VNs and NAs have meanings which do not seem to be referential, but rather are predicative, roughly speaking, with verb-like meanings attributed to VNs and stative adjective-like meanings attributed to NAs. (5a) shows an example with an uncontroversial non-mimetic Sino-Japanese VN, which forms a predicate with the 'light' verb suru 'do.' Now the mimetic gorogoro in (5b) fits in the same frame, so

we might consider that this mimetic has the category VN, to explain the parallel behavior in (5a). In (5b) and succeeding examples, I use a subscript 'MIM' on the English gloss of a Japanese mimetic to indicate that that word is a mimetic.

```
(5) a. benkyoo suru (VN + suru construction)
study do.NPST
'study'
b. gorogoro suru (therefore: gorogoro = VN)
roll.around<sub>MIM</sub> do. NPST
'roll around'
```

There is an issue in Japanese grammar as to whether 'VN' is its own category, or whether the category is actually V, N, or perhaps either one of the two. In this last case, it would be like a gerund form in English such as *singing*, which can function in syntax as a V, or as an N. This analysis of V or N is plausible in Japanese (see e.g. Hasegawa 1991; Manning 1993). Focusing here on the 'V' categorization, VNs have meanings very similar to regular verbs, but they cannot be inflected. Once this morphological property is recognized, there is no barrier to considering the category of VN as V. It is notable that verbal and adverbial uses of reduplicative mimetics have an accentual pattern in standard Japanese which is different from nominal and adjectival uses (Kageyama 2007: 30; Akita, this volume; Murasugi, this volume). This would also suggest that the informal category label 'VN' is actually V, at least in the uses relevant for this chapter.

(6a) shows an example with an uncontroversial non-mimetic Nominal Adjective, which forms a predicate with the copula. The mimetic *kutakuta* in (6b) fits in the same frame.

```
(6) a. sizuka da (sizuka = NA)
quiet COP.NPST
'is quiet'
b. kutakuta da (therefore: kutakuta = NA)
rumpled<sub>MIM</sub> COP.NPST
'is rumpled'
```

As *sizuka* is a Nominal Adjective, we might assign *kutakuta* to this category as well.

Nouns are referential, but they can also be used in stative predications, and, to do so, they combine with the copula in regular predicational structures. Hence, the examples formed with Nouns in (8) have the same structure and form as the example with a Nominal Adjective in (7):

(7) Predicate formed from Nominal Adjective:

Ano basyo-wa sizuka da.
that place-TOP quiet COP.NPST

'That place is quiet.'

(8) Predicate formed from Noun:

a.	Ano	hito-wa	byooki	da.
	that	person-TOP	sick	COP.NPST
	'That person is sick.'			
b.	Ano	hito-wa	isya	da.
	that	person-TOP	doctor	COP.NPST
	'That person is a doctor.'			

It may seem surprising that *byooki* in (8a) is categorized as Noun, but there is clear and strong language-internal evidence that this is the case. As a parallel, the reader might consider the word *red* in English, which passes many tests for noun-hood even though it is typically used in what is intuitively an 'adjectival' sense.

Yamakido (2005: 27ff) (based on the survey in Uehara 1998) shows different tests for A and N in Japanese and compares how Nominal Adjectives align with them. One morphological test which places A and NA together, opposed to N (and V), is nominalization with the suffix-sa (Yamakido 2005: 34, after Miyagawa 1987):

(9) Only As and NAs can be nominalized by the derivational suffix-sa '-ness':

```
a. odayaka-sa 'pleasant-ness' (NA)
b. *sensee-sa *'teacher-ness' (N)
c. utukusi-sa 'beautiful-ness' (A)
d. *iki-sa *'going-ness' (V)
```

This pattern shows the strong affinity of A and NA, in contrast to the other categories.

1.2.3 Summary

The study of mimetics might provide important evidence as to the formal category status of Verbal Nouns and Nominal Adjectives – are they really types of V and of A? Are mimetics directly put into these categories, or are they more fluidly merely 'consistent' with these categories? (On this last question, see Akita's and Tsujimura's chapters in this volume.)

1.3 Categories of mimetics in Japanese

1.3.1 Verb and adjective

The verbal use of a mimetic seems to be fairly straightforward; it is a structure of the mimetic immediately combined with a 'light' verb, typically *suru*, in which the mimetic provides the semantic content and the light verb supports the grammatical morphemes (such as tense). Kageyama (2007) argues that this verb *suru* used with a mimetic is not entirely devoid of its own semantic content – in other words, it is not a completely bleached 'light' verb – but that it has a meaning of

dynamicity or of a state which crucially is 'cognized' by an individual. He presents the examples in (10) with the mimetic *subesube* (2007: 68) to illustrate the property that *suru* has, compared to copular *da*, which combines with something other than a verb to form a stative copular predicate (see (7–8)). (10a) with *suru* has the meaning of how the silk feels (to someone) while (10b) with *da* simply asserts a property of the silk.

- (10) a. Kinu-wa {sawaru-to/*mita dakede} subesube-suru. silk-top {touch-if/*look only} smooth_{MIM}-do.NPST 'Silk feels smooth {if you touch it/*only looking at it}.'
 - b. Kinu-wa {sawaru-to/mita dakede} subesube da to wakaru. silk-TOP {touch-if/look only} smooth_{MIM} COP.NPST COMP find.NPST 'You will find {if you touch it/only looking at it} that silk is smooth.'

 (Kageyama 2007)

At this point, though, what might have seemed quite straightforward with regard to categories becomes quite complex, or, at least, quite subtle. (10a) will typically be categorized as a 'verbal' mimetic while (10b) is an 'adjectival' mimetic, as it seems to describe a pure state. Hence, the mimetic *subesube* is considered 'verbal' in (10a) – 'silk feels smooth (if you touch it),' and 'adjectival' in (10b) – 'silk is smooth.' Kageyama reports that the texture must be directly felt (experienced) if *suru* is used; even if there is no 'action' as such, the property is cognized by an individual. On the other hand, if the copula *da* is used, only the property is asserted. These fine differences of interpretation connect to different morphosyntactic realizations.

Kageyama then goes on to show that *suru* cannot be used in an example such as (11a), where the speaker cannot directly experience his own hair being dripping wet; *bisyobisyo* expresses essentially a visible state of the hair, and (11a) is semantically inconsistent. In contrast, (11b) with *da* is readily acceptable.

- (11) a. *Kami-ga bisyobisyo-suru. hair-NOM dripping.wet_{MIM}-do.NPST 'I feel my hair is dripping wet.'
 - b. Kami-ga bisyobisyo da.
 hair-NOM dripping.wet_{MIM} COP.NPST
 'My/your/someone's hair is dripping wet.'

(Kageyama 2007)

So again, we see a 'verbal' use in (11a) and an 'adjectival' use in (11b). Yet in a formal sense, from the perspective of syntax, if both (11a) and (11b) are right-headed structures, both must involve the category V label for the whole example, as *suru* and *da* are both verbs. The combination of some category X and *suru* in the labelled structure (12a) is known to be a syntactic combination of two words (Poser 1992); hence, the outer V in (12) labels a syntactic structure and is not intended to convey any word-internal structure.

I know of no evidence that the copula da shares any morpho-syntactic properties with adjectives; much of its paradigm shows the expected patterns of verbal inflection, and its historical source is verbal. Hence, the outer label in (12b) will also be V. So if (10/12a) is a 'verbal' use of a mimetic and (10/12b) is an 'adjectival' use, the motivation for those terms must come from the semantics of the whole, and not from the syntax, because the external syntax of both must be verbal.

```
(12) a. [subesube_x suru_v]_v
b. [subesube_y da_v]_v
```

From the data we have seen, we still do not know the categories of the left-hand members of these structures – what the categories X and Y in (12) are. Kageyama (2007) argues at length that structures of the form [Mimetic *suru*] have a dynamic meaning of some kind, with most of the meaning supplied by the mimetic. It seems generally accepted that, in such cases, the mimetic is of category V, and this is what the mimetic-supporting use of *suru* selects for. Hence, we can conclude that X in (12a) is V.

Turning now to (12b), with regard to copular *da*, this combines with a preceding Nominal Adjective, or a preceding Noun (strictly, we should say in this latter case that the selection is for NP). True Adjectives in Japanese do not combine with the copula *da* in order to form a predicate, because they can host their own inflection (see (2)), and Nominal Adjectives 'inflect' with the copula. Intuitively, they have adjectival semantics but appear in the syntax as if they were nouns (hence the parallel between (8) and (7)). Given the contrast with the internal V in (12a), perhaps the simplest analysis of (12b) would be that Y is A, the type of A which does not have its own inflection, and so uses the copula. The other possibility is that the inner category is N (see Section 1.4.1 below).

These are hypotheses which a further study of mimetics can help evaluate, both in terms of their adequacy for mimetic constructions and for their place in wider Japanese grammar.

1.3.2 Noun

The 'nominal' use of a mimetic is diagnosed by its occurrence with a clause-level case-marker such as nominative ga or accusative o, or the topic-marker wa. This is a fairly straightforward diagnostic, as there is little ambiguity about what kinds of hosts these case markers take, and that is typically coupled with fairly robust intuitions of a referential meaning for the mimetic. Some representative examples are in (13), from Kita (1997: 385). In general, such 'nominal' uses are felt to be colloquial.

```
(13) a. Kami-wa sarasara-ga yoi.

hair-TOP smooth<sub>MIM</sub>-NOM good.NPST

'As for hair, smooth (not greasy) (hair) is good.'
```